1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole K-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

501 almost a jab of the blade into the water, used when a sudden spurt of speed is required to take advantage of a following wave to shoot across the reef. In steering, the paddle is struck into the water as far away as possible and then pulled back through the water.

GESTURES AND EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

201 Various conventional gestures are used for communication without speech. Affirmation (*uakoiko*) is expressed by raising the two eyebrows without moving the rest of the face. Used in answer to a negative question, the gesture indicates that the statement in the negative is correct. Doubt is expressed by screwing up the nose and mouth, wrinkling the forehead, at the same time nodding the head. A distant place or person is indicated by pointing with the forefinger. In beckoning to a person, the arm is flexed with the palm pointing toward the person addressed, and the fingers are closed against the palm and quickly opened. The motion is repeated if necessary. Height is indicated by the outstretched arm, palm pointing to the ground. The size of a fish is always indicated by marking off its approximate length with the
201 fingers of one hand on the other arm. A gesture of insult consists in point-
578 ing the forefinger toward the person insulted; at times the gesture is accompanied with words like "Tau lauatomo" (Your anus). Pointing and shaking of the forefinger accompanies the hurling of verbal insults at another
201 person. Other attitudes which occur in story telling are mentioned elsewhere (1). Concentration or the exertion of intense physical effort is marked
609 by semi-protrusion of the tongue, grinding of the teeth, or contorting of the
156 face. Shyness or embarrassment in the presence of white people is shown by women and children turning away the head, or lowering the head and covering the mouth, nose, and lower part of the face by the palm and spread-
864 out fingers of the hand. No man was ever observed displaying this gesture. Naked children who become suddenly self-conscious at the approach of a white person cover the genitals with the hand.

201 Display of affection is marked by pressing the nose against another per-
576 son's face or other part of the body, at the same time inhaling (*yongi*)
832 through the nose. The nose is often applied to the back of the hand of a white person. An excellent account of leave-taking after a visit is given in detail in the story of Te Malo and Totoiki (1). The common greeting on the road is "Ka uano koe ki vea?" (Where are you going?). The person addressed answers in detail or in evasion according to his inclination.

827 Yawning is a sign that someone elsewhere is talking about the yawner, probably in a gossipy or scandalous fashion. Yawning merely expresses bodily fatigue.

516 Both men and women are noticeably given to the habit of leaning against
156 each other in close bodily contact on every occasion. A group of men stand-

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868 of fishing there is in tales and chants. Similarly, in the learning of the old
533 chants and songs, practices are held before some village contest, and the
245 village group of men and women, young and old, sit up throughout the night repeating time and time again the songs and chants which are to be sung at the conclusion of the contest. At the present time, when the villages go to the reserves to make copra, the opportunity is taken to alternate nights devoted to the practicing of chants with the nights devoted to the customary hymn practices.

PUBERTY

304 No surgical operation or physical manipulation was performed on the Pukapukan boy or girl. A foreskin naturally stretched back from the glans was considered a shameful abnormality (*luma*) because it gave the appearance of circumcision. It was a matter for joking among the girls and caused much sorrow to the boy affected. One reference only to circumcision occurs in the folk tales (p. 54).

841 The occurrence of the first menses is spoken of as the opening or piercing
● 864 of the body (*na pu*).

145 Though her mother does not tell her in advance what to expect, a girl is never-
881 less well informed from discussion with her older girl friends. When she finds herself menstruating (*toto*) for the first time, she says to her mother, "I aku na toto" (I am bleeding). Informants say that a girl is naturally frightened (*mataku*) or ashamed (*mokama*) when she first discovers she is menstruating. Cramps are common in both stomach and back. Periods range in length from three days to a week. The menstrual pad (*pulu tautape*) consists of several coconut husks pounded soft and tied with a piece of coconut fiber. Each pad is disposed of in a separate hole dug on the beach for the purpose. There is no fear of the blood. The method of disposal is merely a convenient way of getting rid of soiled objects. A woman does not have sexual intercourse during the menstrual period, on pain of becoming ill from having the blood "pushed up into her chest"; but there is no tapu on her activities or contacts with members of the household. No physical explanation is given for the facts of menstruation. If a young girl commences to menstruate before her mother considers that other signs of physical maturity warrant it, the mother is angry with the girl because this indicates that she is already having a love affair with some man or is, at least, already interested in the opposite sex. Molingi said, "Girls who do not interest themselves in men do not start to menstruate until later on when they are older and ready to marry. Girls who menstruate too early have an undue fondness for men."

841 Two types of physical therapy are used in cases of menstrual trouble. For menstruation prolonged beyond the average four days, the blood is washed away from the pudenda, and the parts bathed in hot water. For delayed menstruation marked by pain, the body is bathed in cold water, either fresh or salt, to cool off the body; and the abdomen is then pressed (*lomilomi*) until menstruation commences.

886 Informants could not explain the recognized connection between the ces-
[843] sation of the menses with pregnancy, nor could they explain the physiology of the menopause. This is referred to as the closing of the blood flow by the

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phrase *koe punia* (it is closed). According to Molingi, old women who have had all the children they desire simply stop (*mutu*) having further pregnancies by making up their minds that they do not want them. Informants said that the period of the menopause involves no physical or mental sickness, nor even inconvenience. A woman passes through the menopause as easily and naturally as the average woman bears children.

Acquisition of Adult Status

The rite by which the adolescent becomes an adult is known simply as *wakatane* or *wakawawine* (to become a man or woman). It symbolizes to the community the sexual and social maturity of the individual. Pre-adolescent boys and girls formerly went naked. Though they indulged in no formal sex life, they acquired, through general education and sex plays, full knowledge of sexual behavior. When they have decided the time of maturity has come, the parents of the child formally report the matter at the village meeting. If a boy should try to wear a malo or a girl a kilt (*titi*) before the parents consider them mature, the parents would tear the garment off and make the young persons wait. The parents judge maturity by the secondary sex characteristics or by comparison with the other children of the same birth class (*tai tangata*).

The occasion for the *wakatane* or *wakawawine* rite depends on the operation of the *tai tangata* system. When it is decided that certain members of a particular birth class are mature, all the boys and girls born in the same six-months period are also considered mature. Informants said that formerly boys and girls would be about 20 years old before they were judged ready to become men and women. If this figure is valid there has been considerable change, for children now become adults at the age of about 15 years. At the time that one group of children attains adulthood, the parents of the next birth class begin to make clothes for their children, six or seven pandanus malos for the boys and many kilts for the girls.

The adulthood rite was generally held during the first new moon of each six-months period. Announcement was made in each village of the names of the children graduating. Without ceremony and in their own house, the parents then formally dressed these children in malo or kilt. This is known as the *tau malonga* or *tau titinga* (putting on malo or kilt). One informant from Yato village said, however, that the men gathered for the *tau malonga* in the reserve of Nina, bathed the boys, took them to a watch house in the reserve, called for this occasion a *male liakinga malo* (house for tying on the malo), and there dressed them in their first malos. No women were allowed to be present. This perhaps constitutes a local village variation on the more customary practice.

Girls had no further duties or activities to perform after they had been

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591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakacmacma, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
177 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at
836 liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a
831 matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity, but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

833 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the in-
864 stitutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

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child here!" His own share of the child's body he places in his mouth and chews vigorously. He spits out the macerated wood, stamps on it, and goes away.

Burying games played by children are not uncommon. They generally follow immediately upon a death in the community when the children's interest is turned to corpses by fringe-participation in the funeral wake and burial. Ta's play, however, bore no relation to any actual death. It appears to have been quite spontaneous, unmotivated by immediate imitation. It is nonetheless significant, however, for the insight it gives into the adoption-frustration situation in Pukapukan society; specially significant if Freud's conceptualizations be used for approximate explanation.

IV

Enough has perhaps been said to suggest some of the overt conflict situations that the Pukapukan child has to surmount in the slow process of socialization. It may be of interest now to discuss briefly the attitudes of children to the facts of sex and also the attitudes of parents and elders in regard to the sex knowledge and sex plays of children. The discussion will show clearly that conflicts over sex are certainly not conflicts that in any way appear to ruffle the surface of Pukapukan child development. The metaphor may well be emphasized in so far as it still leaves as an open question the nature and extent of unconscious conflict and repression.

Two points may well be kept in mind in considering the sexual attitudes of Pukapukan children. First, the general attitude of the culture towards sexual activities is that these are pleasurable play activities. The attitude is realistic, sensuous but not sensual. For the Pukapukan all activities lead naturally to some form or other of sex expression. Secondly, all members of the household sleep in the same sleeping house. Where there is only one mosquito net in the house, parents and children all sleep under it. In a few houses in which a rough partition separates two rooms, parents and small children sleep in one room, older children in the other. A group of older women informants said that some parents make an effort not to let their children witness them in coitus but other parents make no effort to conceal their actions. Particular parents wait until they assume their children are asleep or else go to the bush to have intercourse. These precautions, however, prevent little. It is certain that children witness the sex act at one time or another, usually at a very early age, and are fully conversant with all that relates to sex and childbirth.

Many conversations with children between the ages of three and six years record detailed but volunteered accounts of childbirth. The children assume that childbirth is as neutral a topic of discussion as any other; just as their parents have no objection to their being present at childbirth—no objection that is, so long as they do not insist on pursuing a kitten between the legs of a parturient woman or hindering the midwife by tangling her up with a pig that is being chased. Similarly in regard to the sex act: the familiarity of children with this phase of behavior as recorded in their conversations or activities is striking in its completeness. Words referring to the sex act are continually on their tongues either by

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814 521 way of comment, gossip, or insult, just as they are continually on the tongues of adults, whether children are present or not. Typical field records are the following:

831 159 857 As a gang of children (ages 3 to 8) are sitting on the beach towards evening watching the fishing canoes come back from their day outside the reef, a single-seater canoe goes past. When asked who is in the canoe the children reply, "It is Elia." Lima (5:0) goes on to add: "It is Elia who copulated with Tala." He then improvises a song to the words, "It is Elia who copulated with Tala. They walked. They copulated. They played about." As Lima sings his song, the other children join in. All are sitting on the ground and as they sing, they accompany the rhythm of the song with movements of their bodies.

Olani (3:6), a girl, is sitting on the railing of the cookhouse. Her mother is inside the cookhouse nursing a baby and nearby is an older brother. Olani sings a song which all seem to enjoy. She has taken the tune from one of the hymns she hears in church and has adapted it to the following words: "They went through the bush. I guess they copulated!" This song she repeats over and over again. Her mother explains that the children playing in the bush often see couples going to, or coming back from, the back beach of the island (favourite place of assignation in Pukapuka). The children note the names of the couples and come back to the village singing improvised songs about the incident. Olani's song was looked upon by the mother as a very ordinary type of expression for her daughter.

839 857 864 Masturbation is extremely common among children of both sexes to the age of about 12 years. Equally common is manipulation of the sex organs, either in situations which seem to cause shyness in a child or else as a game among children. There is probably no particular point in documenting such behavior in detail. Field records include for example the following situations: three boys, the youngest 3 years, the others 6 and 7 years respectively, manipulating each other's penises when they are supposed to be observing Sabbath rest; a group of six boys between the ages of four and six years manipulating their penises and then trying to demonstrate to each other whether they can micturate with erect penises; a girl aged 12 years minding her brother (1:3) and amusing herself by making a slip knot in a coconut leaflet, slipping the noose over the boy's penis and then dragging on it hard enough to pull the boy to the ground; family plays in which a child pairs off with another of the opposite sex, the two playing at being husband and wife by manipulating each other's sex organs and imitating the sex act.

The general attitude of adults to masturbation in children and sex organ manipulation is one of good-humored toleration; that is, it is considered amusing if called to their attention. But for the most part adults never feel called upon to notice. Two exceptions only were noted to this generalization: one has been already mentioned for the boy Lima; the other exception occurred when a mother drew attention to her masturbating son in order to amuse an audience (not, however, to shame the boy). All adults know that masturbation goes on among children. It is regarded as their game, natural to children of certain ages, and that is 839 all there is to it. There is only one reference in the folk tales to adult masturbation. This concerns the fate of certain Pukapukan husbands whose wives all left them, attracted by a gang of exceedingly handsome young men. The tale relates in great detail the practises of the de-

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839 serted husbands before they summoned up enough courage to attack and kill the young men.
864 No Pukapukan can tell this tale without commiserating with those husbands of long ago.
858 The material just summarized suggests clearly the Pukapukan practices of, and attitudes to, sex among children. They may be summarized for boys as a good deal of play with the sexual organs, including masturbation and manipulation of the sex organs of other children, usually but not exclusively of the same sex. For the girls much the same holds. These generalizations hold for children up to the age of eleven or twelve. Towards the end of this age period boys and girls are both caught up into an increasing participation in adult activities: fishing, coconut collecting, food preparation, and mat making. The character of plays, at this age, does not differ from the typical wrestling plays, organized games, and imitative plays of
154 children of younger age levels. It has seemed impossible to characterize on the basis of field
883 records any flight to reality or any repression of parentally directed hostility theoretically
661 expectable from the concept of the latency period. There are likewise no records to be added concerning Pukapukan adolescence. Casual observation suggests no adolescent conflicts, no cultural storm and stress period. Nor does knowledge of the culture suggest any psychological reason or basis for possible adolescent conflicts. There is a total absence of motifs, incidents, or allusions to adolescence in the chants and folktales. The only coming of age with which the Pukapukan seems to be familiar is the assumption of sociological adulthood when the old judge the young to be ready to take on the economic and social responsibilities of adult life.[8]

V

121 Enough field data have been given, we hope, to outline the main patterns of childhood socialization in Pukapuka and some of the stresses incidental to this process of growing up. Certain theoretical points emerge from this material. They relate on the one hand to field methods and on the other hand to interpretations of the field data.

On the completion of our field work we summarized for Sapir our experience and conclusions in regard to field methods.[9] There is no need to retraverse these in detail. They related principally to an analysis of the kind of culture in which we thought children could be

198 [8] There are naturally occasional deviants who do not fit easily into this pattern. In *Brief Pukapukan Case*
605 *History* (Journal, Polynesian Society, Vol. 48, pp. 139–43, 1939) we have outlined one adolescent's growing up
582 that illustrates interesting variations on the pattern as here stated. It should also be noted that in Pukapukan culture, before conversion to Christianity broke down some of the old personal tapus, one situation alone was likely to have caused personal stress at this period. This was the strict tapu that formerly held between a man and his cousins-in-avoidance (females only). The tapu was not observed in childhood. Its incidence was first felt during adolescence. The functioning of this tapu and the stresses it brought about have been noted in the Ethnology of Pukapuka (pp. 259–63). This tapu is preserved today among old people. The young bother about it little. Among the younger generations several marriages have even occurred among kin who were formerly rigidly tapu to each other—an utterly inconceivable situation according to old-time patterns, and one today that arouses great disapproval among the old.

[9] Hortense and Pearl Beaglehole, *Some Methodological Implications in the Study of Primitive Children* (Ms.,